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1 Introduction

It is well known that Dickens's novels include various linguistic techniques and tropes that make his descriptions of characters, their backgrounds or surroundings more graphic and real. Above all, his rhetorical depictions of human characters are worthy of remark because the author attempts to observe and describe their appearances or personalities in order to evoke an association between a human and a non-human being or substance in the reader's mind. And, further, Dickens's language is rich in humour and vividness, as he makes particular use of figurative devices such as similes and metaphors, drawing close analogies between the natural attributes or physical appearances of two things. This paper therefore aims to highlight the linguistic mechanisms of Dickens's rhetorical expressions, chiefly similes, which the author is so fond of using in his novels. Moreover, in *David Copperfield* I shall consider the way in which the first person narrator, David, makes frequent use of rhetorical tropes, either humanising objects or dehumanising people with his keen observation and power of imagination. Therefore, I will also focus on the narrator's point of view to elucidate his views of the world he experiences through his life and fortune. In order to make clear the functions of Dickens's rhetorical expressions, I shall firstly examine Dickens's typical devices in terms of forms and techniques, and secondly highlight the main semantic functions performed by his similes. In *David Copperfield*, we can see hundreds of similes by which the author attempts to draw an analogy between two things compared. This is worthy of attention since the narrator (or the author) has a tendency to represent the behaviours or appearances of certain characters comically or symbolically in association with non-human living creatures or inanimate objects.

2 Devices of Simile

First, I will cite below two definitions of simile. E. C. Way (1991: 11) refers to simile as an explicit comparison where the similarities are clearly defined by the use of the prepositions 'like' or 'as', whilst T. Ikeda (1992: 165) states the difference between simile and metaphor in terms of their degrees of power and impact. Although in Ikeda's view the use of the terms 'like' or 'as' may cause the meaning of a simile to become less powerful than that of a metaphor, the simile device in this novel plays a significant role for Dickens in depicting particular features of various characters or objects elaborately or fancifully. Thus, I will explicate the mechanism of

his use of simile here, firstly focusing on the grammatical forms in the following section.

2.1 Forms

Simile in general is a device of comparing two things using such terms as 'like', 'as', or 'as if' or 'as though'; for example, that 'he is as good as gold' or 'she is as cool as a cucumber'. If we examine the forms of Dickens's similes most common in *David Copperfield*, we find seven types using 'as', and four other forms using 'like'.

('As' Simile)

Type I: **be (+ as) + Adj + as + N**

- (1) A cloggy sensation of the lukewarm fat of meat is upon me (we dined an hour or two ago), and *my head is as heavy as so much lead*. I would give the world to go to sleep. (86)
- (2) ... and *all the angles and corners, and carvings and mouldings, and quainter little windows, though as old as the hills, were as pure as any snow that ever fell upon the hills*. (213)

Type II: **V + as + Adj / Adv + as + CLAUSE**

- (3) "I suppose," said my aunt, *eyeing me as narrowly as she had eyed the needle in threading it*, "you think Mr. Dick a short name, eh?" (196)
- (4) ... but she sat there, *playing her knitting-needles as monotonously as an hour-glass might have poured out its sands*. (554)

Type III: **V + as + Adj / Adv + as + N**

- (5) Littimer touched his hat in acknowledgment of my good opinion, and I felt about eight years old. He touched it once more, wishing us a good journey; and we left him *standing on the pavement, as respectable a mystery as any pyramid in Egypt*. (334)

Type IV: **look + as + Adj + as + CLAUSE**

- (6) She had a little basket-trifle hanging at her side, with keys in it; and *looked as staid and as discreet a housekeeper at the old house could have*. (217)

Type V: **V + as + Adj / Adv + as if + CLAUSE**

- (7) From head to foot *I was powdered almost as white with chalk and dust, as if I had come out of a lime-kiln*. (184)
- (8) ... *the two stone steps descending to the door were as white as if they had been covered with fair linen; and ...* (213)

Type VI: **V + as if + CLAUSE**

- (9) Her grief burst out when she first saw me; but *she controuled it soon, and spoke in whispers, and walked softly, as if the dead could be disturbed*. (123)

Type VII: **look (or seem / appear) + as if (or as though) + CLAUSE**

- (10) I remarked now, that, though the smile was on his face still, his color had gone in a moment, and *he seemed to breathe as if he had been running*. (208)

Type I takes the form of 'be (+ as) + adj + as + noun', with 35 examples in the novel. Instance (1) describes David at Salem House with other pupils on a drowsy summer afternoon.

The expression 'my head is as heavy as so much lead' is most effective in emphasising the degree of the child's drowsiness. The phrase 'heavy as lead' is one of the idiomatic expressions of simile frequently also used by other writers (as in 'The bereaved heart lay still heavy as lead within his bosom' by Charles Reade in *The Cloister and the Hearth*). For this reason, we can state that the phrase 'heavy as lead' is useful in emphasising the degree of someone's emotional or physical condition. The next type, Type II, is the 'verb + *as* + adjective / adverb + *as* + clause' form, occasionally used by Dickens to portray particular behaviours of certain characters humorously, as in instances (3) and (4). The behaviour of Betsy Trotwood, casting a keen eye on David as in (3), is comically depicted as the narrator discovers a striking similarity to her sharp eyes while sitting at her needlework. This type of form is one of the most effective means of description for Dickens to represent the figure of each character accurately. Type III is another form of simile, 'verb + *as* + adjective / adverb + *as* + noun' as in (5). This is an effective method of describing a particular appearance or behaviour of people, although less frequent than other types like Type I and Type II. Another simile form, 'verb *look* + *as* + adjective + *as* + clause', as in Type IV, is of great use for the author in representing the appearance of certain characters precisely. T. Ikeda (1992: 172) regards similes with the verbs 'look', 'seem' or 'appear' as 'quasi-similes' since the meaning can be lessened by the use of these verbs. However, I shall consider forms as in Types IV and VII, one of Dickens's particular devices of simile, for he makes occasional use of comparative descriptions of characters with the term 'as'. Example (6) suggests Agnes Wickfield's calm and quiet appearance like a discreet housekeeper with a little basket in her hand. From the context, the narrator David discovers an affinity between her figure and the old house, regarding their tranquillity from David's point of view as a child. Furthermore, Type V (i.e. 'verb + *as* + adj/adv + *as if* + clause') and Type VI (i.e. 'verb + *as if* + clause') are particular types of simile with 'as if' or 'as though' clauses. G. L. Brook (1970: 33) examines Dickens's favourite technical methods of expression with fanciful 'as if' comparisons, stating that they generally take the form of invention of some improbable but amusing explanation of the appearance or behaviour of one of the characters. Thus, it can be said that Dickens's 'as if' comparison forms are worthy of attention in that every description is humorously or ingeniously represented so that the reader can easily understand what the narrator would like to say with regard to unique people or their surroundings from his point of view. As in instance (9), which illustrates a scene where Miss Peggotty takes care of the deceased Clara (the hero's mother), one can discover that the expression 'as if the dead could be disturbed' is effective in emphasising the degree of silence as well as her kindness. In this way, the author's technical use of fanciful 'as if' expressions is of great use in illustrating a certain atmosphere or circumstance explicitly.

(‘Like’ Simile)

Type VIII: V + *like* + N

(11) It was not long before I observed that it was the most susceptible part of her face, and that, when she turned pale, that mark altered first, and became a dull, lead-colored streak, *lengthening out to its full extent, like a mark in invisible ink brought to the fire.* (288)

Type IX: *look* (or *seem* / *appear*) + *like* + N

(12) *He certainly did look uncommonly like the carved face on the beam outside my window,* as he sat, in his humility, eyeing me sideways, with his mouth widened, and creases in his cheeks. (229)

(13) My aunt, *looking very like an immoveable Chancellor of the Exchequer,* would occasionally throw in an interruption or two, as “Hear!” or “No!” or “Oh!” when the text seemed to require it: which was always a signal to Mr. Dick (a perfect country gentleman) to follow lustily with the same cry. (530)

Type X: *not* + *unlike* + N

(14) They both had little bright round twinkling eyes, by the way, which were like bird’s eyes. *They were not unlike birds, altogether;* having a sharp, brisk, sudden manner, and a little short, spruce way of adjusting themselves, like canaries. (580)

Type XI: V + *-like* + N

(15) “—I should say Mister, but I know you’ll excuse the abit I’ve got into—you’re so insinuating, that you draw me like a corkscrew! Well, I don’t mind telling you,” *putting his fish-like hand on mine,* “I am not a lady’s man in general, sir, and I never was, with Mrs. Strong.” (591)

(16) Miss Clarissa presided. I cut and handed the sweet seed-cake—*the little sisters had a bird-like fondness for picking up seeds and pecking at sugar; ...* (594)

Next, I shall refer to another comparison form using ‘like’. In *David Copperfield*, there are four types of ‘like’ similes, with in all 248 examples. Firstly, Type VIII takes the form of ‘verb + *like* + noun’, which is one of the author’s most frequent simile comparison forms. This is also very useful in describing a certain quality or condition of people concretely. Instance (11) represents Miss Durtle’s appearance with a scar on her lip, which attracted David’s attention. What is most striking in this context is that Dickens attempts to draw a close analogy between the mark on Miss Durtle’s lip and that of invisible ink brought to the fire. Thus, we can recognise his technically ingenious device and sensitivity to every circumstance he observes. Similarly, the comparison form of ‘verb *look* + *like* + noun’ also plays a significant role in exhibiting the particular figures of people or inanimate objects, as in (12) where David watches the villainous Uriah Heep and compares his face with the carved face on the beam. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the hero is also in the habit of dehumanising Uriah Heep as if he were a fish, as in example (15). Further, although Type X (*not* + *unlike* + noun) and Type XI (verb + suffix *-like* + noun) are both less frequent in this novel, they are effective methods of description for Dickens in order to draw an analogy between two dissimilar things that are compared. Thus, I

shall later focus on the way in which the hero occasionally aims at depicting various people, on the basis of their personalities, as if they were non-human living creatures or inanimate objects. In addition, I shall consider how frequently Dickens uses conventional and unconventional forms of simile devices in order to trace the historical development of rhetorical expressions.

2.2 Techniques

In the following section, I will examine the techniques of simile. In examples (17) and (18), one can discover that Dickens makes technical use of alliterative forms of simile. The /m/ sounds in the description ‘as mute as a mouse about it’ in (17) is very effective in emphasising the degree of the hero’s quietness at Salam House.

(Alliterations)

(17) I thought of my breakfast then, and what had sounded like “My Charley” but *I was, I am glad to remember, as mute as a mouse about it.* (84)

(18) “Well, Master Copperfield!” said Uriah, meekly turning to me. “The thing hasn’t took quite the turn that might have been expected, for *the old Scholar—what an excellent man!—is as blind as a brickbat*; but *this family’s out of the cart, I think!*” (603)

(Proverbial Similes)

(19) *The walls were whitewashed as white as milk*, and the patchwork counterpane made my eyes quite ache with its brightness. (29)

(20) He was but a poor man himself, said Peggotty, but *as good as gold and as true as steel*—those were her similes. (32)

(21) “...Really the time is come (we being at present all mixing ourselves up with what oughtn’t to be), when Doctor Strong must be told that *this was full as plain to everybody as the sun*, before Mr. Maldon went to India; ...” (599)

Dickens occasionally uses conventional forms of simile in *David Copperfield*, as in citation (19). The expression ‘as white as milk’ is one of the typical simile phrases frequently used by various authors or poets from early on, and the author’s technical use of alliteration, with the /w/ of ‘walls’, ‘whitewashed’ and ‘white’, is effective in emphasising the degree of the whiteness of the walls in Mr Peggotty’s house. Although these types of proverbial similes are less frequent in the novel, it is an effective means for Dickens/David to delineate the nature of a character or substance graphically.

3 Semantic Classifications

3.1 Semantic Linkage in Similes

In this section, I will consider a close relationship between two referents, namely ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’, focusing on semantic concepts involved in Dickens’s comparative statements. If we analyse the process of semantic shift from one concept to another in his similes, four main

patterns of transference can be found in *David Copperfield*, illustrated in examples (22) to (25). These four patterns of semantic transference are (i) from ‘+animate to +animate’, (ii) from ‘+animate to –animate’, (iii) from ‘–animate to +animate’, and (iv) from ‘–animate to –animate’, defined in terms of two attributes, +animate and –animate. I will use this component to describe part of the meaning of a word as either plus + or minus – the characteristic.

(+animate to +animate)

(22) And here, in the very first stage, I was supplanted by a shabby man with a squint, who had no other merit than swelling like a living-stables, and *being able to walk across me, more like a fly than a human being*, while the horses were at a canter! (277)

(+animate to –animate)

(23) Here he shook hands with me; not in the common way, but standing at a good distance from me, and *lifting my hand up and down like a pump handle that he was a little afraid of*. (502)

(–animate to +animate)

(24) After making one or two sallies to her relief, which were rendered futile by *the umbrella’s hopping on again, like an immense bird*, before I could reach it, I came in, went to bed, and slept till morning. (453)

(–animate to –animate)

(25) The old-fashioned brass knocker on the low arched door, ornamented with carved garlands of fruit and flowers twinkled like a star; *the two stone steps descending to the door were as white as if they had been covered with fair linen*; and ... (212-3)

As outlined in Table 1 below, I shall examine the frequency of four patterns among the eleven types of simile devices. However, I here consider the instances of similes whose ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’ are specific from the context. The novel has 356 examples of these types of similes. Examining the table, we first recognise that the shift from ‘+animate to +animate’ is the most frequent (114 examples), and the pattern ‘–animate to –animate’ the second most frequent (110 examples). Another pattern of transference from ‘+animate to +animate’, Type VIII (i.e. the ‘verb + *like* + noun’ structure), has the highest frequency of all, with 76 instances, and the shift from ‘–animate to –animate’ is the second most frequent (64 examples). Thus, we can infer from these ratios that Dickens shows a marked tendency to link together semantically the same components and intends to represent the nature of particular characters or circumstances by analogy with other things such as non-human living beings, natural phenomena or lifeless objects. Moreover, he frequently employs a method of explicitly delineating various scenes or the surroundings so that the hero David can reflect his own feelings or emotions towards various adults he meets from his childhood. Because of this, considering David’s point of view will be a key for us to highlight the linguistic mechanisms of Dickens’s similes.

Table 1 The Frequency of Semantic Shifts in *David Copperfield*

| Pattern Type | Animate to Animate | Animate to Inanimate | Inanimate to Animate | Inanimate to Inanimate | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| I | 11 | 13 | 4 | 7 | 35 |
| II | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| III | 3 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 14 |
| IV | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| V | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| VI | 7 | 8 | 10 | 13 | 38 |
| VII | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| VIII | 76 | 52 | 28 | 64 | 220 |
| IX | 8 | 4 | 0 | 10 | 22 |
| X | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| XI | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Total | 114 | 86 | 46 | 110 | 356 |

3.2 Semantic Tree

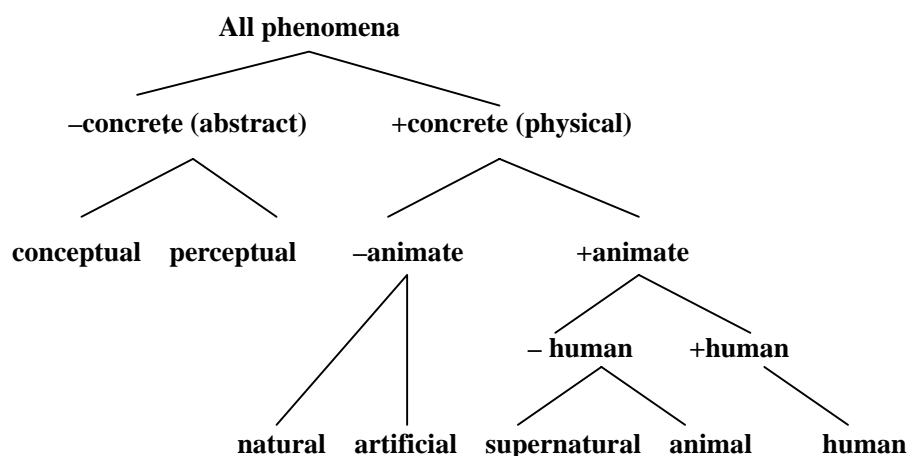


Figure 1 Semantic Tree Diagram of Dickens's Similes

Now, I will discuss the 'Semantic Tree' in 3.2. Drawing on semantic diagrams in D. Bickerton (1980: 57), E. C. Way (1991: 100) and A. Goatly (1997: 39), who attempted to analyse the semantic features used in metaphor, one can elucidate the distance between two features (i.e. 'tenor' and 'vehicle') involved in Dickens's rhetorical expressions. However, I here apply this tree diagram to Dickens's similes, as this is a crucial key for us to explicate the linguistic functions of his devices. The diagram shows how all phenomena in the world can be categorised into several components based on whether or not they are +concrete, -concrete, +animate, -animate, +human, -human and so on, branching off from the top of the tree. Above all, Dickens tends to describe people as if they were natural objects, artefacts, supernatural beings or animals by means of *dehumanisation*. I will therefore now examine the way in which

various people are represented as non-human living beings or substances, mainly from David's point of view as a child.

3.3 Converse Processes

3.3.1 Humanisation

Firstly, Dickens has a remarkable tendency to humanise various lifeless objects or non-human living beings in order to make the surroundings more vivid and graphic.

(Transformation of Natural Objects into Human Beings)

- elm-trees > human beings

(26) *As the elms bent to one another, like giants who were whispering secrets, and after a few seconds of such repose, fell into a violent flurry, tossing their wild arms about, as if their late confidences were really too wicked for their peace of mind, some weather-beaten ragged old rooks'-nests, burdening their higher branches, swung like wricks upon a stormy sea.* (5)

Citation (26) describes the way the elm trees are bent to one another as if they were giants whispering secrets. In this context, the verb 'whisper' and the nouns 'arms', 'confidences' and 'mind' denote the human ability or state of mind, and therefore we can infer that the author aims to emblematically represent the hero's inner feelings towards the natural environment, since his point of view is realistically represented in the instance. The technique is above all effective in drawing a close affinity between two dissimilar objects that are compared—i.e. from David's perspective, the elm trees are alive as if they were human. The reason for this is that the tossing of the wild arms symbolically reflects his view of the adult world where he is tortured or pressured through his life. As to *humanisation*, the author makes best use of intransitive verbs in order to visualise the scene where non-human living beings may appear vigorous and powerful in David's eye. By so doing, the hero attempts to portray realistically his vision of the world that surrounds him.

3.3.2 Dehumanisation

What is most striking about Dickens's simile technique is that he commonly animalises or mechanises unique characters in the story so that he can elaborately describe their behaviours and suggest a resemblance between two dissimilar things. J. R. Kincaid (1971: 168) states that the main purpose of Dickens's dehumanisation of various people is to appraise them either warmly or coldly—so the author may speak of good people as harmless domestic animals and evil people as dangerous predatory beasts or inanimate objects. I will therefore focus on a number of characters chiefly dehumanised from the narrator's point of view on the basis of their

personalities. With *dehumanisation*, Dickens effectively employs the method of depicting particular characters as if they were animals, supernatural beings or artificial substances by use of simile.

(Transformation of Human Beings into Animals)

- Uriah Heep > snail; fish; frog

(27) I found Uriah reading a great fat book, with such demonstrative attention, that *his lank forefinger followed up every line as he read, and made clammy tracks along the page (or so I fully believed) like a snail.* (227)

(28) After shaking hands with me—*his hand felt like a fish*, in the dark—he opened the door into the street a very little, and crept out, and shut it, leaving me to grope my way back into the house: which cost me some trouble and a fall over his stool. (230)

(29) I led him up the dark stairs, to prevent his knocking his head against anything, and *really his damp cold hand felt so like a frog in mine*, that I was tempted to drop it and run away. (367)

(Transformation of Human Beings into Supernatural Beings)

- Betsy Trotwood > ghost

(30) My aunt was restless, too, for I frequently heard her walking to and fro. Two or three times in the course of the night, attired in a long flannel wrapper in which she looked seven feet high, *she appeared, like a disturbed ghost*, in my room, and came to the side of the sofa on which I lay. (491)

(Transformation of Human Beings into Artefacts)

- Mr. Barkis > stuffed figure; clock

(31) So long as she remained in this condition, Mr. Barkis gave no sign of life whatever. *He sat in his usual place and attitude, like a great stuffed figure.* (131)

(32) In his attempts to be particularly lucid, Mr. Barkis was so extremely mysterious, that I might have stood looking in his face for an hour, and *most assuredly should have got as much information out of it as out of the face of a clock that had stopped*, but for Peggotty's calling me away. (132)

- Little Em'ly > jewel

(33) I was running on, very fast indeed, when my eyes rested on little Em'ly's face, which was bent forward over the table, listening with the deepest attention, her breath held, *her blue eyes sparkling like jewels*, and the color mantling in her cheeks. (137)

First, if we look at examples (27) to (29), we can see that Uriah Heep, a villainous character, is depicted as if he were a 'fish' or other slimy creature like a 'frog' or 'snail'. He is so spiteful or cunning a character in David's eye that the author constantly attempts to degrade him to an animal-like state. As in (27), Uriah's way of following every line in a book with his forefinger like a 'snail' is most effective in giving the reader an image of something cold, wet or slimy. Further, we can find yet more depictions of Uriah Heep identified with other animals such as a 'snake' or 'red fox' by metaphor. What is most remarkable regarding this device is that the

author/the narrator constantly focuses on portraying this villain as a dangerous or aggressive animal in order that David can attack or despise him. Moreover, this technical method of symbolising the villain as a fish-like creature includes negative nuances, since the hero tries to despise him or even reflect his inner attitude towards the cruel society that surrounds him.¹

Next, we can see yet another method of *dehumanisation*, by which a human being is transformed into a supernatural one such as a 'ghost' or 'monster'. As for Betsy Trootwood, her ghastly appearance is so fearful in David's eye that it causes him to dehumanise her as if a 'ghost' as in (30). Thus, the *dehumanisation* in this case is of great use in embodying the child's fearful feelings as well as emphasising her grotesque quality. In *David Copperfield*, she is a symbol of grotesque nature, although there is only one example of this device. Further, although less frequent than animal-metaphors, the author is also fond of depicting characters as lifeless objects as in (31), (32) and (33). In (31), Mr Barkis's lifeless figure is humorously portrayed as if he were a stuffed figure, while in (32) his dry countenance is comically described by analogy with a 'clock'. In so doing, the author attempts to represent his mechanical figure. In addition, this device is reminiscent of other characters like Mr Wemmick in *Great Expectations*, whose face is associated with a 'post office', as his mechanical appearance constantly draws the hero Pip's attention.² Furthermore, this type of dehumanisation includes a symbolical effect that suggests the non-human artificiality in civilised society, as the author attempts not only to comically delineate someone's mechanical figure but also to suggest his/her inhuman nature in terms of 'coldness', 'oddity' or 'ferocity', all of which include negative nuances.

However, Dickens's dehumanisation also includes positive nuances, as in citation (33), where Little Em'ly's blue eyes are associated with sparkling jewels. The impression of her bright and beautiful appearance gets the narrator David into the habit of representing her figure as a 'jewel'. Thus, this type of dehumanisation evokes an image of natural beauty. Further, by means of similes and metaphors, sacred or adorable women such as Dora Spenlow and Agnes Wickfield are often appraised by the hero as if supernatural beings such as a 'fairy' or 'angel', natural phenomena or abstracts. Although this type of expression is rare in this novel, it is of great importance for Dickens to symbolise the personality of a heavenly character.

4 Conclusion

This paper has analysed the linguistic mechanisms of Dickens's rhetorical expressions by similes in terms of forms and techniques, and observed semantic features based on the tree diagram. If we consider semantic transference from one concept to another, chiefly focusing on *dehumanisation*, we can infer that Dickens has a tendency to represent naturally villainous or evil people as animals like a 'fish' or to treat them as if they were instruments. As for Dickens's similes in *David Copperfield*, the narrator attempts to identify various characters with

non-human living creatures or lifeless objects with his keen observation and power of imagination. That is, his inner thoughts or emotions towards his social surroundings are symbolically reflected in his *dehumanisation*, for he aims to attack or despise the adults who chiefly influence his life and fortune. For this reason, this technical device is fundamental for Dickens to develop his vision of the inhuman world that surrounds him. His rhetorical devices are at all times rich in humour and vividness, and his expressions therefore produce an effect in the mind of the reader.

Notes

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¹ In his animal-metaphors, Dickens shows a remarkable tendency of dehumanising characters of dull and cruel dispositions as if fish-like. In *Great Expectations*, Bentley Drummle's way of creeping is, in Pip's eye, like that of an amphibian, while Mr Pumblechook's mouth and his dull staring eyes are portrayed as resembling those of a fish. For further details, see S. Tomita (2002: 17-18).

² Dickens makes frequent use of a method of mechanising characters in his novels. In *Great Expectations*, Miss Sarah Pocket's dry countenance is often described as if she were a walnut-shell, chiefly by use of metaphor. In this way, he comically depicts inhuman nature of these characters by *dehumanisation*.

Texts

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Appendix The Frequency of Dehumanisation by Simile

| Vehicle Tenor | Animals | Supernatural Beings | Natural Phenomena | Artefacts | Abstracts |
|------------------|--|---|---|--|--|
| David | <i>mavis</i> (1), <i>thrush</i> (1), <i>bird</i> (2), <i>mouse</i> (1), <i>owl</i> (1), <i>bear</i> (1), <i>dog</i> (2), <i>feather</i> (1), <i>cart-horse</i> (1) | <i>ghost</i> (1), <i>monster</i> (1) | <i>peach</i> (1) | <i>ship</i> (1), <i>doll</i> (1), <i>pump</i> (1) | <i>spirit</i> (1) |
| Mr. Chillip | <i>bird</i> (1), <i>robin</i> <i>redbreast</i> (1), <i>Robin</i> (1) | <i>ghost in Hamlet</i> (1) | | | |
| Betsy Trootwood | <i>scarecrow</i> (1) | <i>fairy</i> (1), <i>supernatural being</i> (1), <i>ghost</i> (1) | | <i>Dutch clock</i> (1) | |
| Pegotty | | | | <i>nutmeg-grater</i> (1), <i>barrel</i> (1) | |
| Mr. Murdstone | <i>snake</i> (1) | | | | |
| Mr. Peggotty | <i>sea porcupine</i> (1) | | <i>light</i> (1), <i>sea</i> (1) | <i>sledge hammer</i> (1) | |
| Little Em'ly | <i>mavis</i> (1), <i>thrush</i> (1), <i>bird</i> (2) | <i>angel</i> (1), <i>goblin</i> (1) | <i>flower</i> (1) | <i>jewel</i> (1), <i>vendible thing</i> (1), <i>gift</i> (1) | <i>death</i> (1) |
| Miss Murdstone | <i>snake</i> (1), <i>poor caged bird</i> (1) | | | <i>pocket instrument</i> (1) | |
| Mr. Barkis | <i>elephant</i> (1) | | | <i>stuffed figure</i> (1), <i>clock</i> (1), <i>box</i> (1) | |
| Mr. Creakle | | | | <i>principal object</i> (1) | |
| James Steerforth | <i>lion</i> (1) | | <i>light</i> (1), <i>air</i> (1), | <i>old iron</i> (1) | <i>weather</i> (1) |
| Traddles | | | | <i>German sausages</i> (1), <i>roly-poly puddings</i> (1) | |
| Mr. Dick | <i>shepherd's dog</i> (1) | | | <i>lancet</i> (1), <i>machinery</i> (1), <i>building</i> (1) | |
| Agnes Wickfield | | <i>angel</i> (1) | <i>Heavenly light</i> (1) | | <i>hope</i> (1), <i>sacred presence</i> (1) |
| Uriah Heep | <i>snail</i> (1), <i>fish</i> (3), <i>frog</i> (1), <i>vulture</i> (1), <i>bat</i> (1), <i>baboon</i> (1), | <i>ghost</i> (1) | <i>stubble</i> (1), <i>light</i> (1), <i>walnut</i> (1) | <i>beam</i> (1), <i>mask</i> (1), <i>corkscrew</i> (1) | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------|------------------|---|---|
| | <i>congereel</i> (1) | | | | |
| Doctor Strong | | | | <i>iron rail</i> (1), <i>gate</i> (1), <i>stone urns</i> (1) | |
| Miss Dartle | | | <i>light</i> (1) | <i>house</i> (1), <i>spring</i> (1), <i>brass</i> (1), <i>stone figure</i> (1), <i>statue</i> (1) | <i>sight of shame</i> (1), <i>fire</i> (1) |
| Mr. Littimer | | <i>Death</i> (1) | | <i>pyramid</i> (1), <i>chord</i> (1) | |
| Miss Mowcher | <i>magpie</i> (1) | <i>imp</i> (1) | | <i>half-crown</i> (1), <i>doll</i> (1) | |
| Mr. Spenlow | | | <i>sea</i> (1) | <i>Punch</i> (2), <i>light-house</i> (1) | |
| Dora Spenlow | <i>bird</i> (1), <i>butterfly</i> (1) | | | <i>toy</i> (2), <i>plaything</i> (3), <i>bed of flowers</i> (1), <i>diamonds</i> (1) | |
| Total | 38 | 12 | 13 | 46 | 6 |

Source: This paper is on the online proceedings of PALA 2008 at <<http://www.pala.ac.uk/resources/proceedings/2008/tomita2008.pdf>>.